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## OCTOBER MEETING, 1888.

THE meetings of the Society were resumed on the 11th instant, the President, Dr. ELLIS, occupying the chair.

The report of the last meeting having been read, and the gifts to the Library having been mentioned, the Librarian called attention to a set of Year Books of the city of Charleston, South Carolina, given by our Corresponding Member, the Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay. They were prepared by Mr. Courtenay, and cover the period of his mayoralty from the year 1880 to 1887 inclusive. Apart from the usual statistics of such municipal volumes, they contain a great deal of original material relating both to the city of Charleston and the State of South Carolina, from the earliest times to the present day. Few cities in the Union can show a series of public documents so valuable to the historical scholar, and so handsomely printed.

The Recording Secretary read a letter from Mr. Courtenay, which he had written to accompany the gift, and which expressed his warm interest in the Society.

The PRESIDENT laid before the meeting circulars referring to the Centennial Anniversary of Washington's Inauguration, and suggesting that the Governor be requested to appoint a commission to represent the State at the celebration in New York on April 30, 1889. The matter was referred to Messrs. Winsor, Green, and Washburn.

Dr. GREEN presented the following letter relating to Shays's Rebellion, saying that the writer was a brother of Col. William Prescott, who commanded the American forces at the battle of Bunker Hill.

GROTON Jan<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1787 6<sup>o</sup> P. M.

SIR I have been attending to the motions of the insurgents, & thought it was my duty to inform you that Capt John Nutting of Pepperell marched from John Conants in Townshend at one o'clock this afternoon with about Seventy men collected from Groton, Pepperell & Townshend & Seven sleighs with provisions & baggage; expected to be joined by a party from Lunenburg & Shirley, & I have no doubt

will make up as many more, they have rec<sup>d</sup>. Expresses from the Worcester Leaders to raise as many men as possible, they are exerting themselves to the utmost—they propose to march all night & are at present rapid in their movements.

The Bearer Capt John Williams is able to acquaint you with the particulars & will inform you of the disposition of the people in this part of the County & their readiness to turn out for the defence of Government if needed.

I have directed the Express to return as soon as possible & if anything of importance should be discovered I shall give you intelligence without loss of time.

I have the honor to be with the  
greatest esteem Sir your  
very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

GEN<sup>l</sup>. LINCOLN

OLIVER PRESCOTT.

[Addressed] On public Service The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln Worcester  
by Express

[Indorsed] Dr Prescott's letter Jan<sup>y</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> 1787 N<sup>o</sup> 19

Prof. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of Yale University, communicated the following paper, which was referred to the Committee on the Proceedings:—

*A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston, March, 1638.*

Among the papers of President Ezra Stiles, preserved in the Library of Yale College, is the following account of Mrs. Hutchinson's trial (occupying fifty-six quarto pages of manuscript), which was copied by him while a pastor in Newport in 1771 from an original manuscript not now traceable. Dr. Stiles's prefatory remarks are also given.

This report seems to be nowhere else preserved, nor is any other full report of this trial known. Brief contemporary accounts of the affair are given in Winthrop's Journal, vol. i. pp. 254-258, and in Welde's Short Story, pp. 59-64. See also the summaries in Ellis's Life of Anne Hutchinson, pp. 305-311; in Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England, vol. i. pp. 335-338; and in Palfrey's History of New England, vol. i. pp. 487, 488.

Appended to this copy among Dr. Stiles's papers is a copy of the Conference of the Elders of Massachusetts with Mr. Robert Lenthal, of Weymouth, held at Dorchester, Feb. 10, 1639; this has been printed, with notes by the Hon. J. Ham-

mond Trumbull, in the Congregational Quarterly for April, 1877 (vol. xix. pp. 232-248).

*Account of the MS. from which I transcribed the following Accounts of M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson & M<sup>r</sup> Lenthall.*

By EZRA STILES.

The MS. was in a blank Book bound in Leather, being a thick Duodecimo or half as big as a common Bible. It seems to have been designed for writing down Sermons from the Mouth of the Preacher. Accordingly Two Thirds of it is taken up in Sermons in 1638 & 1639 by M<sup>r</sup> Wilson, M<sup>r</sup> Cotton, M<sup>r</sup> Shephard, M<sup>r</sup> Phillips of Renton in Engld:<sup>1</sup> and among the rest one by M<sup>r</sup> Damphord at Boston in N. E. Febr. 25. 1638 (or 1637 $\frac{7}{8}$ ) upon Philip. II. 12. 13. This Damphord was Rev. John Davenport who came over & arrived at Boston June 26. 1637. and tarried at Boston [until] March 30. 1638 when he removed to New Haven. While at Boston he frequently preached there & in the neighboring Chhs. He was present at the Synod 1637. & at their Request preached on Philip. III. 16. Gov<sup>r</sup> Winthrop says that M<sup>r</sup> Davenport was there at this Time. M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinsons first Trial before the Chh was at the Lecture March 15. 1637 $\frac{7}{8}$  and the second was 22<sup>d</sup> of same March. Gov<sup>r</sup> Winthrops Entries at this place express "she had been licensed by the Court, in Regard she had given hopes of Repentance, to be at M<sup>r</sup> Cottons House, that both he & M<sup>r</sup> Davenport might have more opportunity with her." MS.<sup>2</sup> I produce this to shew that M<sup>r</sup> Davenport had a hand in laboring her Conviction; & was undoubtedly the person this MS. calls *Damphord*. For the Davenports are frequently called Danforths to this day particularly at Little Compton. There was a *Danforth* minister at Roxbury, but he was not ordained till 1650 & was not a dozen years old at the Time of this Trial. Again, this accounts for M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinsons Reverence for M<sup>r</sup> Davenport who was the most learned Divine & every way the greatest Man then in Boston: His Arguments, *only*, weighed with her.

This MS. in 12<sup>mo</sup> is inscribed in the Beginning "Robert Keayne of Boston in New England his Booke. Anno. 1638. Price 4<sup>d</sup>." I take him to have been a Brother in Law to Rev. M<sup>r</sup> Wilson,<sup>3</sup> & to have written

<sup>1</sup> John Wilson and John Cotton, of Boston; Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; John Phillips, of Wrentham, England, who came over in 1638, and returned in 1641.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Stiles had perused Governor Winthrop's Journal in manuscript, and made a copy of a considerable portion; for this passage in Savage's edition see vol. i. p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Keayne's wife, Ann Mansfield, was sister of the Rev. John Wilson's wife.

this at the Time of the Chh meeting, & from the Mouths of the Speakers; & when entering M<sup>r</sup> Wilsons Discourse, calls him *Brother Willson*.

This MS. was found, among a Family Collection of Books & Manuscripts of the Rev. M<sup>r</sup> Wilson, first Pastor of Boston; which were lodged at length in the Family of Low at Warren or Barrington in Rhode Island. These MSS. began to be dispersed about 1750 or 1760, when the Rev. Solomon Townsend of Barrington<sup>1</sup> rescued this & sundry MSS in M<sup>r</sup> Wilson's own handwriting. And he lent this to me. The Succession, &c: —

Rev. Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson of Boston . . Library & MSS. descended to

Rev Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson jun<sup>r</sup> of Medfield . . . died 1691.

D<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson of Brantree

M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson Elect Pastor of Swanzy or Barrington; where he died<sup>2</sup> before Ordination. This bro't the Library thither. His Widow married Rev M<sup>r</sup> Terry<sup>3</sup> about 1720: & his Sister Elizabeth m. Sam. Low of Barrington.<sup>4</sup> The Lib<sup>y</sup> came into M<sup>rs</sup> Low's Hands. After her Death the MSS. were dispersed.

D<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson. V<sup>th</sup>, educated at Harv. Coll., settled a physician at Sherburn.

Aug. 12, 1771

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“By My Brother Willson. (Before M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinsons Examination and her Answer in the Meetinghowse at Boston in New England one the Lecture Day March 15. 1638, when she was accused of divers Errors. & unsound Opinions wch she held, as was taken from her

<sup>1</sup> A native of Boston; graduated at Harvard College in 1735; ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Barrington, Sept. 22, 1742; died in office, Dec. 25, 1796, aged eighty years.

<sup>2</sup> In 1713.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Terry (Harv. Coll. 1710).

<sup>4</sup> “Mrs. Eliz<sup>a</sup> Low was the D[aughter] of D<sup>r</sup> John Wilson, Esq., of Brantree, who was son of Rev<sup>d</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson, of Medfield, the son of Rev. Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson, first Minister of Boston. She had a Brother, M<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Wilson, of Presid<sup>t</sup> Holyoke's Class 1705, Preacher at Barrington & Pastor Elect there, who died before Ordin<sup>e</sup> at Barrington, then Swanzy, & was buried at Rehoboth about 1720, or before.

“M<sup>rs</sup> Eliz<sup>a</sup> Wilson married M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Low, of Barrington, a wealthy young Farmer, before 1720, & had Children from 1720 to 1730, and died perhaps about 1735 æt. —.

“She was a Woman of great Beauty, a fine Genius, elegant & animate composition, Purity of Language, eminent Piety, & of every Excellency. She corresponded with all the Ministers. Would have made a Bishop a better Wife

owne Mouth by M<sup>r</sup> Shephard & M<sup>r</sup> Wells<sup>1</sup> Ministers & proved by suer Witnesses.”)

“We have herd this day very sweetly that we are to cast downe all our Crownes at the feete of Ch: Je: Soe let every one be content to deny all Relations of Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, Friend, Enemy. & to cast downe all our Crownes & whatsoever Judgment or Opinion that is taken up may be cast downe at the Feete of Christ, & let all be carried by the Rules of Gods Word & tried by that Rule, and if thear be any Error let no one Rejoyce. None but the Divells in Hell will rejoyce, but in all ovr proceedings this day, let us lift up the name of Ch: Jes: & so proceed in Love in this day’s proceedinge.

M<sup>r</sup> Oliver.<sup>2</sup> I am to acquaynt all this Congregation, that whereas our Sister Hutchinson was not hear at the Beginninge of this Exercise, it was not out of any Contempt or Neglect to the Ordinance, but because she hath bine longe [under] Durance, she is so weake that she conceaves herselfe not fitt nor able to have bine hear soe longe togeather; this she sent to our Elders.

M<sup>r</sup> Leverit, ovr other Elder. I am to request those that are Members of the Congregation, that they would draw as neare togeather as they can, & into such places as thay may be distinguished from the rest of the Congregation, that whan thear Consent or Dissent is required to the Things wch shall be read: we may know how thay doe express themselves ayther in the allowinge or condemninge of them.

M<sup>r</sup> Leverit. Sister Hutchinson: hear is divers opinions layd to your charge by M<sup>r</sup> Shephard & M<sup>r</sup> Frost, & I must request you in the name of the Church to declare whether you hould them or renounce them as thay be read to you:

1. That the Soules (Ecl. 3. 18–21) of all men by Nature are mortal.
2. That those that (1 Cor. 6. 19) y<sup>t</sup> are united to Ch: have 2 Bodies, xts & a new Body, & you knew not how Ch: should be united to our fleshly Bodys.
3. That our Bodies shall not rise (1 Cor. 15. 44) wth Ch: Je: not the same Bodies at the last day.
4. That the Resurrection mentioned 1 Cor. 15. is not of our Resurrection at the last day, but of our Union to Ch: Je:

than a farmer. Of good Judg<sup>t</sup> in every Thing, only chusing a Husband. A delicate Poet.

“M<sup>r</sup> Wilson, Pastor Elect, &c., builded the elegant Seat where the fam<sup>y</sup> of Low & Judge Mumf<sup>d</sup>. afterw<sup>d</sup>. lived. M<sup>r</sup> Low bo<sup>t</sup>. this Seat of M<sup>r</sup> Wilson’s Heirs, as it had formerly been his father Low’s.”—*From Dr. Stiles’s MS. Itinerary, Oct., 1782.*

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury; the principal author of “A Short Story, etc.,” already referred to as one of the authorities for our knowledge of this trial.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Oliver, one of the Ruling Elders of the Boston Church.

5. That thear be no created graces in the humane Nature of Ch : nor in Beleever after Union.
6. That you had no scripture to Warrant ch : beinge now in Heaven in his humane Nature.
7. That the Disciples wear not converted at Ch : Death.
8. That thear is no Kingdom of Heaven, but Christ Jesus.
9. That the first Thinge we receive for our Assurance is our Election.

These are alledged by M<sup>r</sup> Shephard.<sup>1</sup> Next from Roxberie :

1. That Sanctification can be no Evidence of a good Estate in no wise.
2. That her Revelations about future Events are to be beleaved as well as Scripture because the same holy Ghost did indite both.
3. That Abraham was not in savinge Estate till he offered Isack, & so savinge the firmnes of Gods Election he might have perished eternally for any Worke of Grace y<sup>t</sup> was in him.
4. That an Hipocrite may have the Righteousness of Adam & perish.
5. That we are not bound to the Law, not as a Rule of Life.
6. That not beinge bound to the Law, no Transgression of the Law is sinfull.
7. That you see no Warrant in Scripture to prove that the Image of God in Adam was Righteousness & trew Holiness.

These are alledged agaynst you by M<sup>r</sup> Wells & M<sup>r</sup> Eliott.

M<sup>r</sup> Leverit. It is desired by the Church, Sister Hutchinson, that you expresse whether this be your opinion or not.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. If this be Error than it is myne & I ought to lay it downe: if it be truth it is not myne but Ch : Je : & than I am not to lay it downe. But I desire of the Church to demand one Question. By what Rule of the Word, whan these Elders shall come to me in private to desire Satisfaction in some poynts, & doe professe in the sight of God that thay did not come to Intrap nor insnare me, & now without speakinge to me & expressinge any Unsatisfaction would come to bringe it publickly into the Church before thay had privately delt with me, for them to come & inquire for Light, & afterwards to bare Witness agaynst it, I thinke it is a Breach of Church Rule, to bringe a Thinge in publike before they have delt with me in private.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. To answ<sup>r</sup> this, indeed, if thear be any playne Breach of Rule, then yow may: but if thear be not a manifest Breach, than the church hath not power to make Inquisition in a doubtful Case.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. I desire to aske this Question of M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson : Whether she accuse any of us, or no, of such a Breach of Rule.

<sup>1</sup> These nine points, alleged by Mr. Shepard, correspond to Nos. 1, 3-7, 9, 11, 14, and 16, in the list on pp. 61-63 of Welde's "Short Story." The next seven points are Welde's Nos. 8, 17, 21, 23, 25-27.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson. I aske a Quest.: thear was none wth me but my-selfe, & I may not accuse an Elder under 2 or 3 Witnesses.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Brother Shephard, if you cane expres any thinge that concerns this Matter, yow shall doe well to give God Glory, & speake.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. For my first cominge to M<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson, I lyinge in the Towne all night was . . . importuned by some theare to goe & see M<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson, & soe I did goe to desire further Satisfaction from her, for some speeches that she had used in the Court, wch I did not well understand At my second cominge to her, be[ing] sent by special providences of God, I did tell her, that I came not to Intrap her, nor had not than any Thought nayther doe I know wherein I could deale more lovingly wth this yo<sup>r</sup> Sister than to bringe her thus before yow. And whearas she sayeth that we delt not with her, I must needs say that I never came to her but I bare Witness & left some Testimony behind me agaynst her Opinions, yet I did not publish any Thinge of the Conference, but kept it in my own Brest. But seeinge the Flew-entness of her Tongue & her Willingness to open herselfe & to divulge her Opinions & to sowe her seed in us that are but highway side and Strayngers to her, & therefore would doe much more to her own Jealousie & to them that are mor nearly like to her, for I account her a verve dayngerous Woman to sowe her corrupt opinions to the infection of many, & therefore the more need yow have to looke to her, & therefore at my third Cominge to her I tould her that I came to deale with her & labour to reduce her from her Errors & to bare witness agayst them, therefor I do marvell y<sup>t</sup> she will say that we bringe it into publicke before I delt with her in private. H[ebrews] 4, 12

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. I did not howld divers of these Things I am accused of, but did only ask a Question. Eccl. 3. 18-21

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. I would have this Congregation know, that the vilest Errors that ever was brought into the Church was brought in by way of Questions 42, 7.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotton. Brother we consent with you ; therefor Sister Hutchinson it will be most satisfactorie to the Congregation for you to answer to the Things as thay are objected agaynst yow in order.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. I desire they may be read

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Yo<sup>r</sup> first opinion layd to yo<sup>r</sup> Charge is *That the Soules of all Men by nature are mortall & die* like Beastes. and for that you alledge Eccl. 3. 18-21

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. I desire that place might be answered ; the spirit that God gives returns

M<sup>r</sup> Cotton. That place speaketh that the spirit ascends upwards, soe Eccles. 12. 7. Mans spirit doth not returne to Dust as mans body doth but to God. The soul of man is immortall

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. Every Man consists of Soul & Body. now *Adam*



*dies not except his soule & Body dye.* & in Heb : 4. the word is lively in Operation, & devides between *soule* & Spirit : Soe than *the Spirit that God gives man, returnes to God indeed, but the Soule dyes.* & That is the spirit Eccles. speakes of, & not of the Soule. Luk. 19. 10

M<sup>r</sup> Cotton. If you howld that Adams Soule & body dyes & was not redeemed or restored by Ch. Je. it will overthroughe our Redemption. both Soule & Body is bought with a price Luk 19. 10 I come to seek & save what was lost. 1. C. 6. E. [= 1 Cor. 6th ch., end.]

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. I acknowledged I am redeemed from my vayne conversation & other Redemptions, but it is no whare sayd that he came to redeem the seed of Adam but the seed of Abraham

Brother Willson I desire befor yow lay downe your Scruples that you would seriously consider of the places alledged & of that in 1 Cor 6. end : the spirit of God needs no Redemption, but he speaks thear neyther of Gods Spirit but of our Spirits.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. I speake not of Gods Spirit now : but I will propound my mayne scruple and that is *how a Thing that is Immortally miserable can be immortally happie.*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. He that makes miserable can make us happy

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. I desire to hear God speak this & not man. Shew me whear thear is any Scripture to prove it that speakes soe.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Yow doe not say that *the soule is not immortal but that this Imortalety is purchased from Christ*

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. Yes Sir

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Y<sup>t</sup> in Eccles. proveth that the soule is the Gift of God & that it hath no Relation to such fadinge & destroyinge matter as his Body was made of. Mat 10. 28. 1 Thes. 5. 23.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. Doe yow thinke his naturall Life is gone into Heaven, & that we shall goe into Heaven with our naturall Life

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Thear is a soule that is immortal Mat. 10. 28. & our nature shall goe into heaven but not our corrupt Nature.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchinson. Than yow have both a Soule & Spirit that shall be saved. I desire you to answer that in 1 Thess. 5. 23. Yo<sup>r</sup> hole *Spirit Soule & body*, & that in Psalms he hath redeemed his soule from hell.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Sister, doe not shut your Eyes agaynst the Truth. all these places prove that the soule is Immortall

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *The Spirit is immortall indeed. but prove that the Soule is :* for that place in Mathew wch yow bringe of Castinge the soul into hell. is ment of the Spirit.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. These are principles of o<sup>r</sup> christian Fayth, & not denyed. the Spirit is sometimes put for the Contience, & for the Giftes of the Spirit y<sup>t</sup> fitts the soule for Gods Service.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. The ho. Ghost makes this Distinction between the soule & Body & not I.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. *If wicked men have the Immortalitie of thear Soules purchased to them by Ch. Je. than the Divells have Immortalitie purchased to them by Ch.*

Governour: She thinkes that the Soule is annihilated by the Judgment that was sentenced upon Adam. her Error springs from her Mistaking of the Curse of God upon Adam, for that Curse doth not imlye Annihilation of the soule & body, but only a dissolution of the Soule & Body.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. I will take that into Consideration, for it is of more wayte to me than any thinge wch yet hath bine spoken.

Govern<sup>r</sup> As the Body remaynes an Earthly substance after Dissolution, soe the Soule remaynes a spirituall Substance after the Curse, though we see not what substance it is turned into after Dissolution.

M<sup>r</sup> Eliot. She thinkes the Soule to be Nothinge but a Breath, & so vanisheth. I pray put that to her.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. *I thinke the soule to be nothing but Light.*

Brother Willson. If the Soule be but a Breath, than how doth Ch: say that a mans Soule is better than the whole World.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. The Sume of her Opinion is that the soules of men by Creation is no other or better than the soules of beastes. wch. dye. & *are mortall, but are made immortall* by the Redemption of Ch. Je. to wch. hath bine Answ<sup>r</sup> that Soule is Imortall. by Creation. & some places brought to prove that thay are, namely the soules of the wicked [are] cast into Hell forever, & the soules of the godly are kept in a blameless frame unto Immortall Glory

M<sup>r</sup> Leverit. The Church is desired to express, whither what yow have now heard give yow Satisfaction & sufficient Light in the poynt in Question

Sargeon Savidge. My Scruple is seeing the Church is not accused of this Opinion, but one partie, whether we should presently express owr Consent or Dissent whan the partie that houlds it is not satisfied nor convinced, but rather that the church may have Time first to consider of it.

Brother Willson. It was usiall in the former Times when any Blasphemie or Idolatrie was held forth they did use to rent thear Garments & tare thear hare of thear heads. in signe of Lothinge, & if we deny the Resurrection of the Body, than let us turne Epicures, Let us eate & drinke & doe any Thinge, to morrow we shall dye: & whan all the Priests of Baall pleaded for Baall & Eliah proved the Lord to be God, if any one had a scruple . . . & was not satisfied but Baall was still God, should one mans scruple or doubt hinder all the rest of the Con-

gregation, wch are satisfied, to crye out, that the Lord is God, the Lord is God, & the Lord only is the Lord.

Govern<sup>r</sup>. The whole Congregation but one Brother is sufficiently satisfied wth what hath bine allready spoken to this poynt to be sufficient: therefor let us proceed to the next.

Brother Willson. I desire to hear our Sister speake, what becomes of that Spirit when the body dyes, for I thinke she contradicts herselfe.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *I spake of the Spirit that God gave: that returns to God that gave it.*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. We are not to hear what naturall affection<sup>1</sup> will say, for we are to forsake Father & Mother. Wife. & children for Christ Je. 1 C[orinthians] 5. 12.

Brother Willson. This that will not confesse me before men: him will not I confesse befor my father wch is in Heaven: this is the Rule of God, by wch the church should proceed.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Yow see how far naturall affection doth prevayle wth Children to speake for thear Mother, & thearfor it concerns others of the Congregation to take heed how they linke themselves with any that hould . . . damnable Errors, & I am sorry to hear any of our Brethren to be soe brought up that thay should not hear of the Immortallitie of the soule.

Govern<sup>r</sup>. I wonder thear should be any scruple in this Thing wch is practised in all the Churches, to give some signe whether what hath bine spoken doe give satisfaction to the Church or no; that soe we may proceed

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. I would aske our sister this Question, *whether the Soule, body & spirit be not Immortal* 1 P[eter] 3. 19

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. it is more than I know: how doe we *prove that both soule & body are saved.*

Brother Willson. *I pray God kepe yo<sup>r</sup> hole body soule & body may be kept blameless to Salvation*

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. It is say<sup>d</sup> thay are kept blameles to *the coming of Ch. Je. not to Salvation*

Brother Willson. what doe we mene by the Cominge of Ch. Je.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. By Cominge of Ch: thear he meanes, his *cominge to us in Union.* 1 46 4 [= Romans 6. 4?]

Brother Willson. *I looke at this Opinion to be dayngerous & damnable. & to be lesse than Sadducisme. & Athiisme & therefore to be detested.*

<sup>1</sup> Sergeant Savage, whose inquiry occasioned this argument, was a son-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson; later, her son takes part in the discussion; and these two dissentients are described in the "Short Story" as two "sons" of the accused, — to the confusion of some commentators.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. If Error be the Thinge yow intend, than I desire to know what is the Error for wch. I was banished for I am suer this is not. for then thear was no such Expression from me on this. The most part of the Church did express themselves satisfied wth what hath bine spoken & *by Lifting up of thear hands. did show thear Dislike of it & did condemn it as an Error.*

M<sup>r</sup> Dampford. Whan it comes to a case of Testimony & a baringe Witness to a Truth of God. & than whan the Truth is like to [be] cried downe, than it is time to speake; this Question of the Immortalitie of the soule is *not new.* but an Ayntient Heresie. & a most censurable & gives way to Libertanisme. And *this poynt was disputed a whole day togeather before Adrian the Pope:* who like a Beast concluded this, that *he that speakes for the Immortalitie of the soul speakes most like to the Scriptures, but he that speakes of the Mortalitie of the soul speakes most to my minde & desire,* & soe it is in this very Thinge: thay that speake for the Mortalitie of the soule speake most for Licentiousness & sinfull Liberty. Therefore . . . Questions that have bine started about this hath bine, as hath bine sayd, from naturall Affection, and soe any scruple of Contience that some made whether thay may expres thear Judgments by Vote or no: I thinke it is according to the Rule. & doe not see how we can bare Witness to the Truth or agaynst any Error but by expressing the<sup>r</sup> Assents or Dissents, ayther by silence or Liftinge up thear Hands. that in Math 18 in case of offenders brought to the Church the Rule is. if they will not hear the Church let him be as an Heathen or Publican. Now what is ment by Church: only the Officers, or the whole Church? Now it is playne it is the whole Church. Now how can the Church expresse themselves, but ayther by thear *Votes or Silence:* & soe in castinge out the Incestious person in 1 Cor. V. how shall the Churches consent be knowen. except thay expresse it. one way or other: therefor I thinke that should be no Scruple

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. We come to the second poynt. By the purchase & Redemption of Ch: the Soules are made immortall tho by Creation they are mortall

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison *The Soule is immortall by Redemption.*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten Yow have no scripture to prove this. Therefor yow ought not to prostitute your Fayth to any one no not to your owne Inventions. and yow have herd playne places agaynst it. as that the *Spirits of wicked men are in Hell:* & yow have herd that the soules of the faythfull are in Heaven.

M<sup>r</sup> Dampford. *A soule may be Immortall & not miserable.* Now the Curse is this, that Misery is annexed to Imortalitie. Immortalitie was a Gift to the Spirit in thear very Beinge: the *soule cannot have Imortalitie in itself but from God from whom it hath its beinge.*

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *I thanke the Lord I have Light. & I see more Light a greate deale by M<sup>r</sup> Damphords opening of it.*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Than yow revoke what yow have delivered or held in this Poynt.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *Soe far as I understand M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. I pray let some body open this: How the soule is Imortall by Creation*

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. It is immortall as the Ayngells are by Creation.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. If the soule be Immortall by Ch: how can the Soule dye: but the Curse sayeth that in the day thow eateth thereof thow shalt dye

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. *The soule doth not dye, but the Person of Adam, & not the soule. But the person of Adam is redeemed by Ch. Je.; now the Ayngells & Divells are Imortall not by the Redemption of Christ, but by Nature & Creation*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Sister, the Comparison is familiiar & usiall

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Yow must distinguish betwene the *life of the Soule & the Life of the Body.* the Life of the Body is mortall but the Life of the Soule is immortall. Eccl. 12. thear the Spirit signifies the soule, in Esai 53. 10. 11. he shall make his soule an offering for sine.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *I am clear in this now.*

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Than yow renounce what yow held in both those poynts

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *Yes. I doe, takeinge Soule as M<sup>r</sup> Damphord doth. Soe thear was my Mistake. I tooke Soule for Life.*

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. The Spirit is not a Third Substance, but the Bent & Inclination of the soule & all the faculties thearof. now this is not a substance differinge from the soule, & *that Spirit in Ecclesiastes is ment of the Soule*, the Spirit returns to God that gave it, that is, the Soule or substance thereof

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I doe not differ from M<sup>r</sup> Damphord, as he expreseth himselfe

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. The *Spirit* thear in Thess. is as the Bias to the Soule

Brother Willson. But the Quest. is *whether that Spirit in Thessa: be Imortall* or not.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. *That Word Spirit in Ecclesiastes is ment the Soule, & that Spirit in Thessa. is not the substance of the soule but a Qualitie of it.* That soule wch: Ch: speakes of in Mathew, He casts both soule & Body into Hell, *thear soule is not ment spirit but soule*

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I may speake playnely whether yow thinke that the *soules of men are Imortall by Generation* or . . . . mortall. & soe fadeth away like the soule of a Beast

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. Now M<sup>r</sup> Damphord hath opened it. it is cleare to me. or God by him hath given me Light

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Sister, speake to this, Whether yow conceive that the divine & gracious Qualeties of the soules of Beleevers be Immortall or no & shall goe wth the soule into Heaven, & whether yow think the Evell Qualeties of the soules of wicked men & thear Evell Dispositions shall goe wth thear Soules to Hell or no.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I know not presantly what to say to this.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Yow doe than consent to the two first Questions that *the Coming of Ch: in Thessa. to the soule is not ment of Ch: Cominge in Union but of his Cominge at the day of Judgment.*

M<sup>rs</sup>. Hutchison. I doe not acknowledge it to be an Error but a Mistake. *I doe acknowledge my Expression to be Ironious. but my Judgment was not Ironious,* for I held befor as yow did but could not express it soe.

John 12  
Cor. 4. 16. 3 Things. That men whan thay beleeve have. a New Body. & thay have 2 bodies. 1 C[or]. 15. 44. 37

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. If yow meane thay have 2 bodies, one of siu & another of death, & one outward body. & an Inward Body of Graces.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I meane as that Scripture meanes, 1 Cor. 4. 16.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Yow say yow doe not know whether Je: Ch: be united to this body of ours or . . . our fleshly bodies. thear lies the scruple & the absurdetie of it: therefor, remember, both soule & body are united to Ch. in our spirituall Estate the Body is a sanctified Instrument to hear & to be holy. & Ch: is united to that body wch we made the body of an Harlot. *Your bodies are the Temples of the Ho. Gho:* that very body, that befor we had taken & made the Members of Harlots.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I desire yow to speake to that place in 1 Cor. 15. 37. 44 for I doe quest. whether the same Body that dies, shall rise agayne.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. The same Body that is sowen, the same Body shall rise agayne. it is sowen a naturall Body but it shall rise a spirituall Body

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. We all rise in Ch: Je: in Rom. 6 he showes that he dyes

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. that is another kind of Death. but speak first of the other Death. & clear that he rayseth us the same Body. & not another Body for Substance.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I quest. whether yowr body be sowen or no

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Whan I dye than my body is sowen: & turned into Corruption & dust. & that dust wch is sowen shall rise agayne in a body

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. Than come to Rom. 6. 2-7: thear is no Death of a Child of God: but a puttinge of ow<sup>r</sup> Tabernacle. Revel. 20.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. This Death & Resurrection hear spoken of is not a naturall Death nor a naturall Resurrection but a spirituall one. but that Death in 1 Cor. 15 is spoken of a naturall & bodely Death & Resurrection. Mat. 22.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. There is another place in Rev. 20 whear he speakes of the first Resurrection

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Thear is no first & second Resurrection of one & the same Body, for that implyes a second Resurrection. Now some understand that of the Resurrection of the Martirs, others of a spiritual Resurrection, as is ment in Rom. 6 a spiritual Resurrection both wch we enjoy in this Life, but that in 1 Cor 15. is ment of a Bodely Resurrection after this Life. therfor. are yow clear in that place

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. No, not yet.

M<sup>r</sup> Buckle. I desire to know of M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. whether yow hould any other Resurrection than that of . . . Union to Ch: Je: And whether yow hold y<sup>t</sup> foule, groce, filthye & abominable Opinion held by Familists, *of the Communitie of Weomen.* Job 19. 25 Phil. 3 . . . —

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *I hould it not.* But Ch: Answ: now. I know thou hast a Divell. that was the Conclusion thay made agynst Ch: *when he sayd thay that beleve in me shall not dye:* I doe not beleve that Ch. Je: is united to our Bodies.

Brother Willson. God forbid.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Avoyd . . M<sup>r</sup> Buckles quest. for it is a right principle, for if the Resurrection be past than Marriage is past: for it is a waytie Reason; *after the Resurrection is past, marriage is past. than if thear be any Union betweene man & woman, it is not by Marriage but in a Way of Communitie.*

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. if any such practice or Conclusion be drawn from it. than I must leave it, *for I abhor that Practise.*

Governor. The Familists doe not desire to evade that quest. for thay practise the Thing. & thay bringe this very place to prove thear Communitie of Weomen. & to justify thear abhominable Wickedness. it is a dayngerous Error.

M<sup>r</sup> Leverit. But our sister doth not deny the Resurrection of the Body.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. No.

M<sup>r</sup> Simes. She denies the Resurrection of the same Body that dyes. therefore to prove that the same body that dyes shall rise agayne, I prove it Job. 19. 35. & . . .

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. that it is all the quest. for *I doe not thinke the Body that dyes shall rise agayne*

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord *Yow tell us of a new Body, & of 2 bodies, that is three: now wch of these Bodies do yow hould shall rise agayne.*

M<sup>r</sup> Eliot. We are altogetther unsatisfied wth her answer, & we

thinke it is very dangerous to dispute this Question soe longe in this Congregation. She that hath come of in her other Answer, to say it was not an Error, but a mistake of so groce & so dangerous an opinion as this is, we much fear her spirit

M<sup>r</sup> Buckle. in Hebr. 6. 1. the holy Ghost thear makes the denyng of the Resurrection to be the denyng of a fundamentall Truth of Religion. Thearfor for any to hould thear is no Resurrection, I thinke it is as dayngerous an Heresie, & we are to hould them as dayngerous Heriticks as any are.

M<sup>r</sup> Simes. I desire to propound one place more, 1 Cor. 15. 13. *if thear be no Resurrection, then our fayth is in vayne* & preaching is in vayne : & all is in vayne

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. I confess if thear be no Resurrection, than all is in vayne, both preaching & all. *I scruple not the Resurrection, but what Body shall rise*, it shall rise, that is, in Ch : we shall rise.

Governor. I desire to propound this to M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison : it is sayd whan Christ arose, many of those dead bodies of the Sts did arise out of thear Graves, & did accompany Ch : into the holy Cittie. Now I would know what Bodies those wear that rose, whether it be not the same Bodies that wear dead & layd in thear Graves.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. I know not but thay may be the same Bodies.

M<sup>r</sup> Governor. Than the poynt is at an End.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. I am not clear in the poynt. I cannot yet see that Ch : is united to these fleshly Bodies, & if he be not united to our fleshly Bodies, than those Bodies cannot rise.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. The fleshly *Bodies of the wicked are not united to Ch : yet thay shall rise agayne.*

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. They shall rise to Condemnation.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. That is nothinge. and soe the Bodies of the Sts shall rise to Salvation.

M<sup>r</sup> Peters. I would aske M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison this Quest. whether yow thinke that the *very Bodys of Moses, Eliah, & Enoch were taken up into the Heavens*, or no.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. *I know not* that I scruple the former. than much more this.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Thease are Opinions that cannot be borne. Thay shake the very foundation of our fayth & tends to the Overthrow of all Religion. They are not slight matters of greate Wayte & Consequence

Brother Willson. If the Church be satisfied with the Arguments that have been propounded that thay are convinced in thear Judgments that thease are Errors, *Let them expres it by thear usall sign of houldinge up thear Hands*, & y<sup>t</sup> thay looke at them as groce & damnable Heresies. And because it is very late & many Things yet to



goe over, the Church thinkes it meete to refer farder Dealinge with our Sister till the next Lecture day.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. I desire to know by what Rule I am to expres myselfe in my Assent or Dissent whan yet *my Mother* is not convinced. for I hope she will not shut her Eyes agaynst any Light.

Brother Willson. Brother, yow may as well make Quest. whether God will confesse yow before his Father wch is in Heaven, whan yow deny to confesse his Truth befor Men tho agaynst yo<sup>r</sup> owne Mother.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Yow are not to be led by naturall affection, but to declare your opinion for the Truth & agaynst Error, though held by your owne Mother. The Quest. was not whether the Arguments were waytie enough to convince your Mother, but whether yow have Light enough to satisfie yo<sup>r</sup> Contience that thay are Errors.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. Then I consent to them. as far as I know that thear is a Resurrection &c.

M<sup>r</sup> Sheppard. If thear be any of this Congregation that doe hould the same opinions, I advise them to take heed of it, for the hand of the Lord will finde yow out. & for M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison I would wish her to consider by what spirit & Light she is lead. for she hath often bosted of the Guidance of Gods Spirit & that her Revelations are as trew as the scriptures. but she hath already confessed her Mistake in the 2 first poynts. by the Light she hath received from M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. Now than her spirit hath led her into some Errors. therfor I hope she will see the rest to be Errors. & to suspect herselfe. & to know it is not Gods Spirit. but her owne Spirit that hath guided her hitherto, a spirit of Delusion & Error. & for my owne part I must needes say that I know not what Cowsse better to take: nor wherein I might show more love to her Soule. than in bringinge her to her owne Congregation, of wch she is a Member, to answ<sup>r</sup> to thease dayngerous and fearfull Errors wch she hath drunke in, that thay under God wch have the care of her soule may deale wth her for them, & wach mor narrowly over her for time to come, & seeke to reclayme her, for she is of a most dayngerous Spirit, & likely wth her fluent Townge & forwardnes in Expressions to seduce & draw away many, Espetially simple Weomen of her owne sex.

Brother Willson: *If the church be satisfied wth what hath bine spoken: & that thay conceive. we ought to proceed to Admonition, we will take thear Silence for Consent: if any be otherwise minded. thay may expres themselves.*

Sargeon. Savidge./ For my part: I am not yet satisfied. nayther doe I see any Rule why the church should proceed to *Admonition*: seeinge that in the most Churches thear hath bine some Errors or Mistakes held. yea. & in this very Church of Corinth there was many unsownd opinions, & in particular some amongst them that held this very

opinion: about the Resurrection as appears by Pawlls arguments in 15 Chapt. yet we doe not read: that the Church did admonish them for it. Indeed in poynt of fact as in the Case of Incest, the church proceeded to Excommunication: because it was groce & abominable but not for opinion: now *my Mother* not beinge accused, for any haynows fact, but *only for opinion. & that wherein she desires Information & Light.* [rather] than peremptorelye to hould, *I cannot consent that the church should proceed yet to admonish her for this.*

Mr Cotten. *Yo<sup>r</sup>. Mother, though she be not accused of any thinge in poynt of fact or practise. nayther for my owne part doe I know thear is any cause.* yet she may hould Errors as dayngerous & of worse Consequence than matters of practise cane be, & therefor I see not but the church may proceed to Admonition. and whereas yow say *she seekes Light & Information rather than hould them peremptorily.* yow hear that thear hath bine much paynes taken & many Arguments brought, not only from ourselves, but from divers of the Elders of other Churches. wch gives satisfaction to the rest of the Assembly & wch she is no wayes able to answer. & yet she persists in her Opinion: besides *the Apostle did admonish for poynt of Opinion.* for *Himeneus. & Philetus.* thay held thinges of this Nature. the Apostle doth give thear an Admonition for it, therfor yow doe a very evell office out of yo<sup>r</sup> naturall not religious Affection, to hinder the Church in her proceeding & to be a meanes to harden your Mothers Heart in thease dayngerous Opinions. & so keepe her from Repentance. I pray consider of it.

Liuetenant Gibbens. I desire Leave of the church, for one word; not that I would open my mouth in the least kinde to hinder the Churches proceedings, in any way of God. *for I looke at ovr sister as a lost Woman.* & I blesse God to see the paynes y<sup>t</sup> is taken to reduce her: but I would humbly propose this to the churches Consideration, seeinge *Admonition is one of the greatest Censures* that the Church can pronounce agaynst any offender. & one of the last next to Excommunication, (& to be used agaynst Impenitent Offenders,) but seinge God hath turned her hart abowt allready to see her Error, *or Mistake, as she calls it.* in some of the poynts, whether the Church had not better wayte a little longer, to see if God will not help her to see the rest & to acknowledge them, than the Church may have no occasion to come to this Censure.

Mr Simes. I am much greved to hear that soe many in this Congregation should stand up & declare themselves unwilling that Mr<sup>r</sup> Hutchison should be proceeded agaynst for such dayngerous Errors. I fear, that if by any meanes this should be carried over into England, that in New England & in such a Congregation, thear was soe much spoken. & soe many Questions made, abowt *soe playne an Article* of our fayth *as the Resurrection is.* it will be one of the greatest Dishonors to

Je: Ch: & of Reproach to thease Churches that hath bine done since we came heather.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord: I thinke it is meete. that if any of the Brethren have any Scruples upon thear Spirits. abowt this or any other Poynt y<sup>t</sup> shall be discussed, that thay should have free Leave to propound it. that it may be taken of. & thear Dowbts removed. & if thease Bretheren that wthstood the Church in proceedinge to Admonition did but consider. *that Admonition is an Ordinance of God.* & sanctified of him for this very End. as a spetiall & powerfull meanes to convince the partie offending as well as Arguments. & reasons given; than thay would not oppose it. the want of that Consideration is the Cause of thear present scruple herin.

Elder Oliver./ I desire to be satisfied in one Thing, & I am glad that I have soe good an Opertunitie to propownd my Dowbt. at such a Time. whan God hath furnished us wth such store of Elders & Men of able parts from other Churches, that may resolve the same: And that is. How the church cane. or *whether it may proceede: to any Censure. whan all the Members doe not consent thearto: or whether the Church hath not power to lay a Censure upon them. that doe hinder the Churches proceedinges.*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten: I thinke Bretheren are to be satisfied: the church ought as much as in them lies to remove all Scruples, that if it may be, the whole Church may proceede wth one Consent. in the Act to be done; but if the Church doe take paynes, & doe bringe Arguments, such as satisfies the whole Congregation. to be sufficient to remoove such Scruples. if yet some Bretheren will persist in thear Dissent: upon no Ground: but for by Respects of thear owne. or owt of naturall affection . . than the Church is not to stay her proceedinge, for that.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord: I doe not see but y<sup>t</sup> the Church is satisfied. I perceiue none doth oppose the Church: some only 2 or 3 wch are tied to her by Naturall Relation; for these others that have spoken, thay did propound it but as Scruples, & thay have reaceved satisfaction, & therfor I see nothing that may hinder.

Sargion Oliver: I desire to propound this one Thing to the Church. befor yow proseed to admonition/ I doe blesse God to see soe much Care & faythfullnes shewed to the sowle of this our Sister: & it doth rejoyce my Sowle. to see soe much paynes taken. & so many effectuell arguments brought to reduce her from her Errors & goinge astray. & it is of no lesse greife to my Spirit to see thease two Bretheren to speake soe much. & to scruple the proceedings of the Church in that way of God that is in hand. therefore I would propownd this. seeinge that all the proceedinges of the churches of Je: Ch: now should be accordinge to the *Patterne of the primitive Churches: And the primitive paterne was. that all Things in the Church: should be done wth*

*one hart & one sowle & one Consent; that any act. & every Act. done by the Church. may be as the Act of one Man.* Therefor whether it be not meete. to lay thease two Bretheren under an Admonition with thear Mother; that soe the church may proceed on without any further Opposition

Brother Willson. I thinke yow speake very well: it is very meete.

The whole Church by thear Silence. Consented to the Motion: & soe thay proceded to Admonition/ The rest of our Elders requested M<sup>r</sup> Cotten to give the Admonition, as one whose Wordes, by the Blessinge of God, may be of more Respect, & sinke deeper, & soe was likely to doe more good upon the partie offendinge. than any of theas, & it was alsoe left to him, to doe as God should incline his hart, whether to lay any admonition upon her 2. Sonnes or no with her selfe

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. I doe in the first place blesse the Lord: and thanke in my owne Name, & in the Name of owr Church, theas owr Bretheren, the Elders of other Churches, for thear Care & faythfullnes in waching over owr Churches, & for bringinge to Light what owr selves have not bine soe ready to see in any of owr Members, & to take soe much paynes, to seeke to reduce any of owrs from goinge astray: & I shall desier that this faythfull & wachfull Care of thears towards [us] may still be continued: & I dowbt not but the Lord Je: Ch: who is head of the whole Church will reward it into thear Bosoms/. I confes I have not bine ready to beleeeve Reports, & have bine slowe of proceedinge agaynst any of owr Members, for want of sufficient Testimony to prove that wch hath bine layd to thear Charge./ But now thay have proceeded in a way of God, & doe bringe such Testimonie: as doth Evince the Truth of what is affirmed, it would be owr sine if we should not joyne in the same, wch we are willinge to doe. And therfor in the first place, I shall direct my speech & admonition to you that are her sonnes, & sonne in Law; & let me tell yow from the Lord; though naturall affection may leade yow to speake in the Defence of yo<sup>r</sup> mother, & to take her part & to seeke to keepe up her Credit & respect, wch may be lawfull & comendable in some Cases & at some times, yet in the Cause of God yow are nayther to know Father nor mother, sister nor Brother, but to say of them all as Levie did what have we to doe with them, & though the Credit of yo<sup>r</sup> mother be dear to yow, & yo<sup>r</sup> Regard to her Name, yet the Regard yow should have of Ch: Name & yo<sup>r</sup> Care of his Honour & Credit should outway all the other, yea & as you have herd, yow must cast downe her Name & Credit, tho it be the chiefeest Crowne that ayther yourselves or yo<sup>r</sup> mother hath, at the Feete of Je: Ch: & let that be trampled upon, soe his Crowne may be exalted. And I doe *admonish you both* in the name of Ch: Je: & of his Church: to consider how ill an office yow have performed to your Mother this day to be Instruments of hardninge her Hart & Nowrish-

inge her in her unsound Opinions by yo<sup>r</sup> pleading for her, & hindringe the proceedings of the Church agaynst her wch God hath directed us to take./ to heale her soule, & wch God might have blessed & made mor effectuall to her, had not you intercepted the Cowrse./ & how instead of lovinge & naturall Children, *yow have proved Vipers, to Eate through the very Bowells of yo<sup>r</sup> Mother*, to her Ruine, if God doe not graciously prevent, therefor I advise you both, & admonish yow in the Lord. that yow desist from such practise, & take heed, how yow by yo<sup>r</sup> flattery or mourninge over her: aplaudinge of her in her Opinion, or takinge part with her when yow come home, do hinder the Work of Repentance in her. & keepe her from seeinge thease Evells in her selfe: but looke up to Ch: Je: & adrese yo<sup>r</sup>selves to her wth all faythfull & gracious Cownsell to her, that yow may doe what yow came to bring her to a sight of her wronge way, & to reduce her from it. than shall yow performe the parts of faythfull Children indeed. The Lord will blesse yow. If yow doe otherwise, Looke that the Lord will bringe yow to an Account for it.

Next let me say somewhat to the Sisters of owr owne Congregation, many of whom I fear have bine too much seduced & led aside by her; therefore *I admonish yow* in the Lord to looke to your selves, & to take heed that yow reaceve nothinge for Truth wch hath not the stamp of the Word of God from it. I doubt not but some of you have allsoe reaceved much good from the Conference of this owr Sister & by your Converse wth her: & from her it may be yow have reaceved helpes in yo<sup>r</sup> spirituall Estates, & have bine brought from Restinge upon any Duties or Workes of Righteowsnes of yo<sup>r</sup> owne, but *let me say this to yow all, & to all the Sisters of other Congregations, Let not the good yow have receved from her, make yow to reaceve all for good that comes from her*; for you see she is but a Woman & *many unsound & dayngerous Principles are held by her*, therfor whatsoever good you have reaceved owne it & keepe it carefully, but if you have drunke in wth this good any Evell or Poyson, make speed to vomit it up agayne & to repent of it & take [care] that yow doe not harden her in her Way by pittyinge of her. or confirminge her in her opinions, but pray to God for her, & deale faythfully wth her soule in baringe Witnesse agaynst any unsound Thinge that at any Time she hath held forth to yow.

And now, Sister, let me adrese myselfe to yow./ the Lord put fitt Words into my Mouth. & carry them home to your Soule. for good. It is trew when yow came first over, into this Cuntrye, we herd some thinge of some opinions that yow held: & vented upon the Seas, in the Ship when yow came, wch when you came to be propounded for a Member, we had some Conference wth you about them hear,/ in wch you ded give us such satisfaction, that after some little stay to yo<sup>r</sup> Admission yow wear reaceved in amongst us. & since that admission I

would speake it to Gods Glory yow have bine an Instrument of doing some good amongst us, yow have bine helpfull to many, to bringe them of from thear unsound Grounds and Principles, & from buildinge thear good Estate upon thear owene duties and performances, or upon any Righteousness of the Law. And the Lord hath indued yew wth good parts & gifts fitt to instruct your children & Servants, & to be helpfull to your husband in the Government of the famely. he hath given yow a sharpe apprehension, a ready utterance & abilitie to exprese yo'selfe in the Cawse of God. I would deal wth yow as Ch: Je. deales wth his Churches whan he goes to admonish them, to take a Vew, & to call to yo' mind the good Things that he hath bestowed upon yow. Yet Notwithstandinge, we have a few Things agaynst you, / & in some sence not a few. but such as are of great Wayte & of a heavy Nature & dayn-gerous Consequences. Therefore let me warne yow & admonish yow in the Name of Je: Ch: to consider of it seriously, how the Dishonour you have brought unto God, by thease unsownd Tenets of yo', is far greater than all the honor yow have brought to him, & the Evell of yo' Opinions doth outway all the good of yo' Doinges. Consider how many poore sowles yow have mislead, & how yow have conveyed the poyson of yo' unsound principles into the harts of many wch it may be will never be reduced agayne. Consider in the fear of God, that by this one Error of yours in denyinge the Resurection of thease very Bodies, yow doe the uttermost to rase the very foundation of Religion to the Ground, & to destroy our fayth, yea all owr preachinge & yo' hearinge & all owr sufferinges for the fayth to be in vayne, if thear be no Resurection than all is in vayne, & we of all people are most miserable yea consider *if the Resurection be past, than yow cannot Evade the Argument* that was prest upon you by *our Brother Buckle* & others, that filthie Sinne of the *Comunitie of Weomen*; & all promiscuus & filthie cominge togeather of men & Weomen. without Distinction or Relation of Marriage, will necessarily follow, & though I have not herd, nayther doe I thinke, yow have bine unfaythfull to yo' Husband in his Marriage Covenant, *yet that will follow upon it*, for it is the very argument that the Saduces. bringe to our Savior Ch: agaynst the Resurrection: and that wch the Annabaptists & Familists bringe, to prove the Lawfullnes of the common use of all Weomen, & soe more dayn-gerous Evells & filthie Uncelenes & other sines will followe than yowe do now Imagine or conceive.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison; I desier to speake one word, befor yow proceed: I would forbar but by Reason of my Weakness. I fear I shall not remember it whan yow have done.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten: Yow have Leave to speake.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. All that I would say is this that *I did not hould any of thease Things before my Imprisonment.*

Mr Cotten: I confesse I did not know that yow held any of thease Things, nor heare till hear of late: but it may be it was my sleepines & want of wachfull care over yow / but yow see the daynger of it & how God hath left yow to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe to fall into thease dayngerows Evells, for I must needs say that *I have often feared the highth of yo<sup>r</sup> Spirit & being pufte up wth yo<sup>r</sup> owne parts*, & therefore it is just wth God thus to abase yow & to leave yow to thease desperat falls, for the Lord looketh upon all the children of pride, & delights to abase them & bringe them lowe. / And soe, the other Things that yow hould of the *Mortalitie of the Soule by Nature*, & that *Ch: is not united to our Bodies*: and that the *Resurrection* spoken of at his appearinge is ment of his *appearinge to us in Union*, thease are of dayngerows Consequence, & set an open Doore to all Epicurisme & Libertinisme; if this be soe than come let us eate & drinke, for to morrow we shall dye, than let us nayther fear Hell nor the losse of Heaven; than let us beleve there is nayther Ayngelles nor Spirits. What need we care what we speake, or doe, hear, if our Sowles perish & dye like beasts /. *Nay though yow should not hould thease Things positively*, yet if yow doe but make a Question of them, & propownd them as a doubt for satisfaction, yet others that hear of it will conclude them positively, & thay will thinke: suer thear is some thinge in it, if M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison makes a Question of it, if those that have great parts of Wisdome & Understandinge, & if such eminent christians make a Question of them, thear is somethinge that needs further Serch & Inquirie abowt them, & soe. yo<sup>r</sup> Opinions frett like a Gangrene, & spread like a Leprosie, & infect farr and near, & will eate out the very Bowells of Religion. / & hath soe infected the Churches. that God knowes when thay will be cured. *Therfor that I may draw to an End; I doe Admonish yow, & alsoe charge yow in the Name of Ch: Je: in whose place I stand*, & in the Name of the Church who hath put me upon this service; that yow would sadly consider the just hand of God agaynst yow, *the great hurt yow have done to the Churches, the great Dishonour yow have brought to Je: Ch:* & the Evell that yow have done to many a poore sowle, & *seeke unto him to give yow Repentance* for it, & a hart to give satisfaction to the Churches yow have offended hereby /, & bewayle yo<sup>r</sup> Weaknes in the Sight of the Lord, that yow may be pardoned, & consider the great Dishonor & Reproch, that hereby yow have brought upon this Church of owrs wherof yow are a Member, how you have layd us all under a Suspition, yea, & a Censure of houldinge & mayntayne Errors. / therefor thinke of it & be jeliows of yo<sup>r</sup> owne Spirit in the rest & take heed how yow Leaven the hartes of yownge Weomen wth. such unsownd & dayngerows principles, but Labor rather to recover them out of the Snaers, as opertunetie shall serve, wch yow have drawn them to, & soe the Lord carry home to yo<sup>r</sup> Sowle what I have spoken to yow in his Name.

Mr Shephard. Lest the Crowne should be set on her Hed in the day of her Humiliation I desire Leave to speake one Word, befor the Assemblie break up. It is no little Affliction nor Grefe to my Spirit to hear what M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison did last speake, it was a Trowble to me to see her interrupt yow, by speakinge in the midst of her Censure; unto wch she ought to have attended, wth fear & Tremblinge; but it was an Astonishment to me to hear, that she shuld thus Impudently affirme soe horrible an Untruth & falshood, in the midst of such a sollomne Ordinance of Je: Ch: & befor such an Assembly as this is; yea in the face of the Church *to say, she held none of thease Opinions, befor her Imprisonment*, whan she knowes that she used this Speech to me, whan I was wth her & delt wth her abowt thease opinions, & she had fluently & forwardly expressed herselfe to me, yet she aded If I had but come to her befor her Restraynt, she would have opned herselfe mor fully to me & have declared many other Things abowt them, yea of thease very Opinions: therfor I am sorry y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. should soe far forget herselfe; it shoves but little frute of all the paynes taken wth her. This makes me mor to fear the unsowndnes of her hart than all the rest.

Mr Eliot. It was the same Trowble & Greife alsoe to my selfe.

Brother Willson /. Sister Huchison, I requier yow in the Name of the Church to present yo<sup>r</sup>selfe hear agayne, the next Lecture day, Viz this day Sevensight, to give yo<sup>r</sup> Answer. to. *such other Things as this Church or the Elders of other Churches have to charge yow wthall*, Concerninge yo<sup>r</sup> Opinions, whether yow hould them or no, or will revoke them.

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M<sup>r</sup> Hutchisons. *second Examination* in Boston Church. one Thirsday Lectuer day after Sermon: March: 22<sup>th</sup> 1638, *befr all the Elders of other Churches*, & the Face of the Cuntry.

Elder Leveret. Sister Hutchison, yow are farther to make Answ<sup>r</sup> to other Things, layd to yo<sup>r</sup> Charge: But first I would have the Members of owr owne Church draw near to expresse thear Consent or Dissent to the Things in hand. wch doth most concerne them. M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison, the Things further layd to yo<sup>r</sup> Charge are these:

1. Those that have Union wth Ch: shall not rise in these Bodyes.
2. The Resurrect in 1 Cor. 15. is not spoken of o<sup>r</sup> Resurrection at the last day but of o<sup>r</sup> Union to Ch: Je:
3. That thear is no created Graces in Belevers after Union: befor Union ther is, but after Union Ch: takes them owt of us into himselfe.
4. That in Ch: thear is no created Graces.
6. That thear is an Ingraftinge into Ch: befor owr Union wth him, from wch we may fall away.



Hear is further agayst yow.

1. That yo<sup>r</sup> particular Revelations abowt futire Events wear as infaliable as the scriptures them selves. That yow wear bound to beleve them as well as the Scriptures : because the Ho : Gho : was the Author of both.
2. That Sanctification could be no Evidence of a good Estate at all.
3. That Union to Ch : Je : is not by Fayth.
4. That an Hipocrite may have Adams Righteousness & perish.
5. That we have no Grace in ovr Selves. but all is in Ch : & thear is no inherent Righteowsnes in us.

To the 3 first from N. Towne. yew gave no satisfaction. Therefor an Admonition past agaynst yow. therfor yow are now to give further satisfaction abowt them.

M<sup>r</sup> Huchison. for the first, I doe acknowledge I was deeply dea-  
ceved, the opinion was very dayngerows. 1 C[or.] 6. 19. 18

2. Though *I never doubted that the Soule was Imortall | yet . . . Things I renounce, as that the Soule was purchased to eternall payne.*
3. I acknowledge my Mistake of Belevers havinge two Bodies. soe now I see that the Apostle in 1 Cor: 6. 14. 15. speakes of persons, in one place, & of bodies, in another.
4. I acknowledge & I doe thanke God that I better see that Ch : is united to our Fleshlye Bodies, as 1 Cor. 6. 18. 19. *I doe acknowledge that the same Body. that lies in the Grave. shall rise agayne. & renounce the former. as eronious.* Es. 11. 2.
5. For no Graces beinge in Beleevers I desier that to be understood that thay are *not in us. but as thay flow from Ch : & I doe not acknowledge any Graces in us, accompanying Salvation before Union.*
6. I acknowledge that thar is Graces created in Ch : Je : as Esa. 11. 2, 2 P. 4. 24, Col. 3. 10.
8. I doe see good Warrant that Ch : Manton is in heaven as well as his Body.
9. I have considered some Scriptures that satisfie me that the Image of Adam is Righteousnes & Holiness.
10. I hould that to be a dayngerous Error wch than I held.
11. *I confes now the Law is a Rule of Life & I acknowledge the other to be a hateful Error, & that wch openeth a Gap to all Lisentiowsnes, & I beleve the Law is a Rule of ovr Life, & if we doe any Thing contrary to it it is a grewows Sine.*

Thus she answered to the first sixteen Objections.

Have you any Answer to the rest ?

Answ<sup>r</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Wells Articles.

1. That Sanctification cant be an Evidence but as it flowes from Ch : & is witnessed to us by the Spirit.

2. *For these Scriptures that I used at the Cowrt in Censuringe the Cuntrie, I confes I did it rashly & owt of heate of Spirit & unadvisedly, & have cause to be sorry for my unreverent Cariage to them & I am hartely sorry that any Things I have sayde have drawn any from hearinge any of the Elders of the Bay.*
  3. I acknowledge y<sup>e</sup> comānd of fayth is a part of the Doctrine of the Gospell.
  4. That thear is *no fayth of Gods Elect but Assurance*, & that thear is no Fayth of Dependance, but such as Hipocrits may have.
- M<sup>r</sup> Huchison. I never held any such Thing.
- Elder Leverett. It seems yow did hould it, tho' after yow revoked it.
5. I doe not beleeeve that a Hipocrite cane attayne to Adam's Righteousnes.
  6. We are dull to act in spirituall Thinges savingly, but as we are acted by Ch :

For the 9<sup>th</sup> *I deny it, that not beinge bound to the Law it is no Transgression to breake it | I never held it | for I acknowledge any Breach of the Law is a sine, & the former is a hateful Error.*

Brother Willson. Thear is one Thing y<sup>t</sup> will be necessary for you Sister to answer to wch was objected to yow. the last meetinge, but it beinge soe late. we could not take yo<sup>r</sup> Answ<sup>r</sup>, & that was, that yow denied yow held none of those Thinges but since yo<sup>r</sup> Durance / wheras he alledged to yow that yow expressed befor the contrary.

M<sup>r</sup> Huchison. As my sine hath bine open, soe I thinke it needfull to acknowledge how I came first to fall into thease Errors. Instead of Lookinge upon myselfe I looked at Men, I know my Dissemblinge will doe no good. I spake rashly & unadvisedly. *I doe not allow the slightinge of Ministers. nor of the Scriptures* nor any Thing that is set up by God : if M<sup>r</sup> Shephard doth conceave that I had any of these Thinges in my Minde, than he is deceived. It was never in my hart to slight any man, but only that man should be kept in his owne place & not set in the Roome of God.

Elder Leverit. That the Assemblie may know what yow have delivered, as our Honor<sup>d</sup> Governor hath mooved, it is meet some body should expres what yow say to the Congregation wch heard nor.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten The Summe of what she sayed is this, that she did not fall into thease groce & fundamentall Errors till she came to Roxbery. & the Grownnd was this, her Miscariages & disrespect that she showed to the Magistrates whan she was befor them. who are set up by . . . & those that doe soe lead themselves into Errors, & she doth utterly disallow herselfe & condemne herselfe, for that Cariage : & she confesseth the Roote of all was the hight & Pride of her Spirit, soe for her slighting the Ministers she is hartely sorry for it: for her particular Relation

in her Speech to the Disgrace. of him, She is sorry for it & desires all that she hath offended to pray to God for her to give her a hart to be more truly humbled.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. If this day whan M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison should take Shame & Confusion to herselfe for her groce & damnable Errors, she shall cast Shame upon others & say thay are mistaken, & to turne of many of those groce Errors with soe slight an Answer as *your Mistake*, I fear it doth not stand wth true Repentance / I confes I am wholly unsatisfied in her Expressions, to some of the Errors. Any Heretick may bringe a slye Interpretation, upon any of thease Errors & yet hould them to thear Death: therfor I am unsatisfied, I should be glad to see any Repentance in her: that might give me Satisfaction.

M<sup>r</sup> Elliot. M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison did affirme to me, as she did to M<sup>r</sup> Shephard, that if we had come to her before her restraynt or Imprisonment she could & would have tould me many Thinges of Union &c / but now we had shut & debarred owrselves from that Helpe, by impresinge & proceedinge agaynst her, & she did produce some Scriptures to me.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. She puts of many Thinges wth her Mistake, as in union wth Ch: Ch: takes all these Graces he finds in us into ourselves, & transacts us him selfe.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Sister, was thear not a Time, whan once yow did hould that thear was *no distinct graces inherent in us, but all was in Ch: Je:*

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *I did mistake the word Inherent*, as M<sup>r</sup> Damphord can tell who did cause me first to see my Mistake in the word inherent.

M<sup>r</sup> Elliot. We are not satisfied wth what she sayth, that she should say now, *that she did never deny Inherence of Grace* in us, *as in a subject*, for she beinge by us pressed soe wth it, she denyed that thear was *no Graces inherent in Ch: himselfe*.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. She did not only deny the word inherent. / but denyed the very Thinge itselfe; than I asked her, if she did beleewe that the spirit of God was in Beleevers.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. *I confes my Expressions was that way, but it was never my Judgment.*

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. It requiers yow to answer playnly in thease Thinges.

M<sup>r</sup> Elliot. She did playnly expres herselfe to me that thear was *no difference betweene the Graces that are in Hipocrits & those that are in the Sts.*

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten Thear is 2 thinges to be clerd, 1. what yow doe now hould, 2ly. what yow did hould.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. My Judgment is not altered though my Expression alters.

Brother Willson. This yow say is most dayngerous, for if yo<sup>r</sup> Judgment all this while be not altered, but only yo<sup>r</sup> Expressions, whan yowr Expressions are soe contrary to the Truth.

M<sup>r</sup> Simes. I should be glad to see any Humiliation in M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison / I am afrayd that she lookes but to Spriges /, for I fear thease are no new Things, but she hath ayntientlye held them, and had need to be humbled for her former Doctrines, & for her abuse of divers Scriptures, & if she held no new Thing, yet she ought to be humbled for what she hath held formerly as, *A christians beinge dead to all spirituall Actinge after thay are united to Ch:* & soe that of Graces. She hath brought that place in Esa: that all flesh is grasse & poor witheringe Things, & soe other Things to the like purpose.

M<sup>r</sup> Peters: We did thinke she would have humbled herselfe for denyinge Graces this day, for her opinions are dayngerous & fundamentall & such as takes downe the Articles of Religion, as *denying the Resurrection*, & fayth, & all Sanctification, soe that some Elders have made whole Sermons, for fayth, as if fayth should never hould up her Hed agayne in this Cuntrye; as it hath done in our Native Cuntry.

Deputie.<sup>1</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchisons Repentance is only for Opinions held since her Imprisonment, but befor her Imprisonment she was in a good Condition, & held no Error, but did a great deale of Good, to many. Now I know no Harme that M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison hath done since her Confinement, therfor I think her Repentance will be worse than her Errors, for if by this meanes she shall get a partie to herselfe, & what can any Heretick in the World desier more / & for her forme of Recantation, her *Repentance is in a paper*, whether it was drawn up by herself, or whether she had any helpe in it I know not, & will not now Inquier to, but suer *her Repentance is not in her Cowntenance*, none cane see it thear I thinke; therfor I speak this only to put the Elders in minde to speake to this whether she did not hould errors before her Imprissonment.

M<sup>r</sup> Wells. I must needs say that before this she hath sayd to me, whan I spake of Graces, that she would not pray for fayth, nor for patience & the like, which whan I asked her it she would stand to that, & tooke out my pen & Inke to have writ it downe, than she turns it this way, *I will not pray for Patience but for the God of Patience*.

Governo<sup>r</sup> / I must put M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison in minde of a paper that she sent me, wherein she did very much slight fayth.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. Those papers wear not myne.

M<sup>r</sup> Peters. I would say this, whan I was once speakinge wth her about the *Woman of Elis*: she. did. exceedingly magnifie her to be a Womane of 1000, hardly any like to her. & yet we know. that the *Woman of Elis*: is a dayngerous Woman, & houlds forth greewous Things, & ferfull Errors, & whan I tould her that hear was divers worthy & godly Weomen Even amongst us, & than. she sayd, she ment

<sup>1</sup> Deputy-Governor Thomas Dudley.

she was better than soe many Jewes /. Soe that I beleeeve. that she hath vilde Thoughts of us, & thinkes us to be nothinge but a company of Jewes, & that now God is convirtinge of Jewes.

M<sup>r</sup> Hutchison. I sayd of the Woman of Elis but what I herd, for I knew her not nor never sawe her.

Brother Willson. I must needs say this & if I did not say soe much I could not satisfie my owne Contience herin, for wheras yow say that the Cawse or Root of thease yo<sup>r</sup> Errors, was yo<sup>r</sup> slightinge & Disrespect of the Magistrates & yo<sup>r</sup> unreverent Carriage to them, / wch though I thinke that was a greate Sine, & it may be one Cawse why God should thus leave you, but that is not all, for I fear & beleve ther was another, & a greater Cawse, & that is the *slightinge of Gods faythfull Ministers & contemninge & cryinge downe them as Nobodies*, & wheras yow say that one Cawse was the settinge up of men in the Roome of God, & a to high & honorable Esteme of them, I doe not deny but it may be yow might have an honorable Esteme of some one or 2. Men, as ovr Teacher & the like, yet I thinke it was, to set up *yo<sup>r</sup> selfe in the Roome of God*: above others, *that yow might be extolled & admired, & followed after, that yow might be a greate Prophites . . & Undertake to expound Scriptures, / & to interpret other Mens Sayings, & sermons after yo<sup>r</sup> minde / & therefor I beleve yo<sup>r</sup> Iniquite hath found yow out, & wheras befor if any delt wth yow about any Thinge yow called for Witnesses & for yo<sup>r</sup> Accusers, & who can lay it to yo<sup>r</sup> Charge, / now God hath left you to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, & yow have hear confessed that wch befor yow have called for Witnesses to prove, therfor it greves me, that yow should soe mince *yo<sup>r</sup> dayngerous, fowle & damnable Herisies*, wherby yow have soe wickedly departed from God & done soe much hurt.*

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. I thinke it is needles for any other. now to speake. & useles, for the Case is playne, & hear is Witnesses enough.

M<sup>r</sup> Elliot. Some will acknowledge the Word Gifts & Frutes, but thay deny the word Graces: thay acknowledge actings of the Spirit: & by such Distinctions, I could wipe of all her Repentance in that paper, therefore she shall doe well to express her selfe playnly, what her Judgment now is, in these Things.

M<sup>r</sup> Huchison. Our Teacher knowes my Judgment, for I never kept my Judgment from him.

Deputie / I doe remember, that whan she was examined, abowt the six Questions or Articles, abowt Revelations &c, that she held nothinge but what M<sup>r</sup> Cotten held.

M<sup>r</sup> Wells. I cane affirme the same to, for whan I spake wth her she tould me that M<sup>r</sup> Cotten & she was both of one minde, & she held no more than M<sup>r</sup> Cotten did in these Things, & whan I told her that then she was lately chaynged in her Opinion, & I urged her with some

Things, that M<sup>r</sup> Cotten had left some Things in Writinge expressly agaynst some of the opinions she held; *she affirmed still that thear was no difference betwene M<sup>r</sup> Cotten & She.*

Sargeon Oliver. I know the Time whan M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison did plead for Creature Graces, & did acknowledge them, & stood for them, / but since she hath used these Expressions in way of Dislike I have pleaded as much for Graces as others, now if yow doe not deny, *created Graces in us*, than cleer that Expression.

M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison. I confes I have denyed the Word Graces, but not the Thinge itselfe, & whan I sayd I had pleaded for them as much as others, *I ment only in seekinge Comfort from them.*

M<sup>r</sup> Simes. In the Ship, she may remember that she was often *offended at the Expression of growinge in Grace* and laying up a *Stock of Grace*, & that *all Grace is in Ch: Je:*

Brother Willson. I know she hath sayd it & affirmed it dogmatically, *that the Graces of God is not in us*, & we have no Graces. in us, but only the Righteousnes of Ch: Imputed to us, and if thear be any Actinge in us it is Ch: only that acts. 53. Esa. Gal. 2.

M<sup>r</sup> Mather / M<sup>rs</sup> Hutchison may remember that in her Speakinge wth me that she denyed all Graces to be in us, that thear was nayther faith, nor knowledge nor Gifts & Graces, no nor Life itselfe, but all is in Ch: Je: / & she brought some Scriptures, to prove her Opinions, as *that befor Union, thear was Graces & Fayth in us, but not after Union*, and she Coted Romans 11, *Thow standest by Fayth be not high minded but fear, lest thow also be cut of*, whar sayth she, befor Union thear is Fayth, thow standest by fayth, but if yow be high minded, yow shall be cut of, & for knowledge it is not in us. but in Ch: & soe than yow brought Esa. 53, by his Knowledge shall my Righteows Servant Justifie many, thear, sayth she, *we are Justified by his Knowledge*, y<sup>t</sup> is in him, & not by ovr Knowledge, & for fayth that in Galat. 2. Yow brought I live but not I but Je: Ch: lives in me: therfor I wonder that M<sup>rs</sup> Huchison doth soe far forget herselfe, as to deny that she did not formerly hould this Opinion of denying Gifts & Graces to be in us.

M<sup>r</sup> Peters. I would desier M<sup>rs</sup> Huchison in the name of the Lord that she would serch into her hart farther to helpe on her Repentance/, for though she hath confessed some Things yet it is far short of what it should be, & therefore

1. I fear yow are not well principled & grownded in yo<sup>r</sup> Catechisme.
2. I would commend this to yo<sup>r</sup> Consideration that yow have stept owt of yo<sup>r</sup> place, *yow have rather bine a Husband than a Wife, & a preacher than a Hearer; & a Magistrate than a Subject*, & soe yow have thought to carry all Things in Church & Commonwealth. as yow would, & have not bine humbled for this.

Governor ; Seinge divers Sisters of the Congregation have builded upon her Experience, therfor I thinke it w<sup>d</sup> be very Expedient, & much to Gods Glory if she would declare har what here Estate is, or wherin her good Estate is, if not by Ingraftinge into Ch : Je : for the Estate she held owt before the Elders / was not by Ingrafting into Ch : for a *Man may be Ingrafted into Ch : Je : & yet fall away.*

M<sup>r</sup> Wells. I desire that Motion may go on.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. Yow have not only to deale wth a Woman this day that houlds diverse erronius Opinions, but wth one, that never had any trew Grace in her hart & that by her owne Tenect / yea this day she hath shewed herselfe to be a Notorius Imposter, it is a Tricke of as notorious Subtilltie as ever was held in the Church, to say thear is no Grace in the Saints, & now to say she hath, & that she all this while hath not altered her Judgment, but only her Expressions.

2. I would have yow quest. whether she was ever in a state of Grace or no, [seeing] her horrible Untruths, that she hath affirmed in the Congregation & proved by many Witnesses, & yet she hath not confessed it before the Lord.

3. *I would have the Congregation judge whether ever thear was any Grace in her hart or no ;* or whither the Spirit of Glory rests upon her in the Cause she suffers. Soe her Cawse w<sup>t</sup> good, for wch she suffers, & doth not suffer as an evell doer, than the spirit of Glory & Ch : shall rest upon them that suffer. as Peter speaks ; now if in her Restraynt God hath soe left her, soe sur to her selfe as she hath now confessed, that she never held any of these Opinions till her Imprissonment, wch is the Time of her Humiliation & persecution she thinke, therfor by Peter her sufferings is not for good, because such an evell spirit hath rested upon her in this Time of her Humilliation.

4. Upon this Ground, I thinke yow are to deale wth her, not only for her Opinions, as wth one who is to be questioned whether ever she was in a good Estate, because the Grownd of her Opinions hath bine built upon fayned & fantastickall Revelations, as she held forth 2. in the Court, one for the certayne Destruction of Ould England & another for the Ruine of this Cunttrie & the people therof for thear proceedinge agaynst her : therefor I pray consider of it, & the rather I note this that all those Weomen & others that have bine led by her & doted soe much upon her & her Opinions.

M<sup>r</sup> Peters. We are not satisfied in her Repentance, in that she hath expressed, wherin she layes her Censuer or Imprissonment to be the Cawse of all her Errors, as if she wear Innocent befor.

Brother Willson. I cannot but reverence & adore the wise hand of God in this thinge, & canot but acknowledge that the Lord is just

in leavinge *owr Sister to pride & Lyinge*, & owt of hith Spirit to fal into Errors & divers unsound Judgments, & I looke at *her as a dayngerus Instrument of the Divell* raysed up by Sathan amongst us to rayse up Divisions & Contentions & to take away harts & affections one from another, / wheras befor thear was much Love & Union & sweet agreement amongst us before she came, yet since all Union & Love hath bine broken & thear hath bine Censurings & Judgings & Condemnings one of another / & I doe conceive all these wofull Opinions doe come from this Botome, for if the Botome hath bine unsound & corrupt, than must the Building be such, & the Misgovernment of this Woman's Townge hath bine a great Cawse of this Disorder, wch hath not bine to set up the Ministry of the Word ayther hear or elce whear, but to set up her selfe, & to draw deciples after her, & therfor she sayth one Thing to day & another thinge to morrow: & to speake falsely & doubtfully. & dullye, wheras we should speake the Truth playnly one to another. I doe therfor this conceive in the poynt of Religion & in the poynt of Doctrine, thay take away the bottome, woe be to that sowle that shall build upon such botoms. Owr sowles should abhor & loth to come soe far short in Repentance, therfor I thinke as she was lyable to an Admonition befor, soe thear should be a . . . of our Church, & a proceedinge therin, to Ease our selves of such a member, Especially for her untruth, or Lyes, as that she was allways of the same Judgment, only she hath altered her Expressions. / Therfor I leave it to the Church to consider how safe it is to suffer soe eronius & soe schismaticall & soe unsound a member amongst us, & one that stands guiltie of soe fowle a falshood / therfor consider whether we shall be faythfull to Je: Ch: or whether it cane stand wth his hono<sup>r</sup> to suffer such an one any longer amongst us; if the blind lead the blind, whether shall we goe. Consider how we cane or whether we may longer suffer her, to goe on still in seducinge to seduce, & in deacevinge to deaceve, & in lyinge to lye, & in condemninge Authoritie & Magistracie, still to contemne. Therfor we should sine agaynst God if we should not put away from us soe Evell a Woman, guiltie of such fowle Evells. Therfor if the church be of an other minde Let them Express themselves, if she may not be seperated from the Congregation of the Lord.

Elder Oliver. I did not thinke the Church would have come thus far soe soone, espetially seinge whan I tauked wth her in the morninge I saw her to come of soe freely in her Confession of her sine in contemninge Magistrats & Ministers.

M<sup>r</sup> Elliot. It is a wonderfull Wisdom of God to let them fall by that whearby they have upheld thear Opinions, & carried them as to let her fall into such Lies, as she hath done this day, for she hath caried on all her Errors by Lies, as that she held nothinge but what M<sup>r</sup> Cotten



did, & that he & she was all one in Judgment, & soe it fared with divers others, that we have cast out of our Church of these opinions. [Rev.] 22. 15.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. The matter is now translated, the last day she was delt wth in poynt of Doctrine, now she is delt wth in poynt of practise, & soe it belongs to the Pastors Office to instruct & also to correct in Righteowsnes, whan a Lye is open & persisted in, in the face of the Congregation after proved by Witnes. I know not how to satisfye myselfe in it, but accordinge to that in Revel. 22. 15. If it come to this to the makinge of a Lye; than wthout shall be doges, & such as love & makes lyes. therfor though she have confessed, that she sees many of the Thinges wch she held to be Errors, & that it proceded from the Roote Pride of Spirit, yet I see this pride of Harte is not healed but is working still, & therfor to keep secret some unsownd Opinions, God hath lett her fall into a manifest Lye, yea to make a Lye, & therfor as we receaved her in amongst us I thinke we are bownd upon this Grownd to remove her from us & not to retayne her any longer, seeinge she doth prevaricate in her Words, as that her Judgment is one Thing & her Expression is another.

M<sup>r</sup> Damphord. God will not bare with Mixtures in this kinde, therfor yow must freely Confesse the Truth, take Shame to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, that God may have the Glory, & I fear that God will not let you see yo<sup>r</sup> sine, & confes it, till the Ordinance of God hath taken place agaynst yow. Soe that it semes to me God hath a purpose to goe on in the Course of his Judgment agaynst you.

Quest. I desire to be satisfied in this how the Church may prosced to *Excommunication*, whan the Scripture saythe he that confeseth & forsaketh sine shall have Mercy, & whether we should not bare with Patience the contrary minded.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. Confession of Sine thear is ment wthall the Agrivations of it . . wch yet hath not appeared to us, & by baring wth the contrary minded, is ment of these that are wthout

M<sup>r</sup> Scot. I desire to propownd this one Scruple, wch keepes me that I canot soe freely in my Spirit give way to Excommunication/ whether it wear not better, to give her a little time to consider of the Thinges that is . . . vised agaynst her, becawse. *she is not yet convinced of her Lye* & soe things is with her in Distraction, & she canot recollect her Thoughts.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten. This now is not for poynt of Doctrine, wherin we must suffer her wth patience, but we now deal wth her in poynt of fact or practise, as the makinge & houldinge of a Lye: now in poynt of groce fact, thear may be a present proceedinge.

M<sup>r</sup> Shephard. I perceve it is the Desire of many of the Brethren to stay her Excommunication, & to let a second Admonition lye upon her;

but now for one not to drop a Lye, but to make a Lye, & to mayntayne a Lye: & to doe it in a day of Humilliation, & in the sight of God, & such a Congregation as this is, I would have this Church consider. whether it will be for the Honor of God & the hono<sup>r</sup> of this Church to bare with patience soe groce an offender.

M<sup>r</sup> Mather. The Apostle sayth an Hereticke after once or twise Admonition reject & cut of like a Gangrene as the word signifies: now, she hath bine once admonished allready, why than should not the Church proceed.

M<sup>r</sup> Leverit. The Word is after once or twice by a Copulative.

Deputie. I would answer this to M<sup>r</sup> Leverit, to his Objection after twise Admonition; Now M<sup>rs</sup> Huchison hath bine delt [with] and admonished, not once, twise nor thrice, but many Times, by privat Brethren, & by Elders of other Congregations, & by her owne Church, therfor that should be no scruple, besides I thinke that text doth not speake of the Admonition of the Church but of privat Admonition.

Straynger. I would desire to knowe, if the Church procedes agaynst her, whether it be for Doctrine, or for her Lye: if for her Lye. than I consent: if it be for her Doctrine, she hath renounced that as Eroneus, & than I want Light to goe wth the Church in it.

Brother Willson. For my part, if the Church proceeds. I thinke it is, & it should be, for her Errors in Opinion, as well as for poynt of Practise, for though she hath made some shewe of Repentance yet it doth not seme to be cordial & sincere, & that of *Achan tho he did confesse & acknowledge his sine, yet Joshua, & that by the apoyntment of God, did proced agaynst him*, & in Corinth, as soon as ever the Apostle herd of that sine committed agaynst them, he writes his Letter, *to cast them out forthwith* without delay.

M<sup>r</sup> Cotten: For yow to propownd Termes of Delay: what Rule have yow for it, whan in poynt of practise, thear hath bine a presant proceeding, as in Acts 5. *as soon as ever Annanias had tould a Lye, the Church cast them out.*

Brother Willson. The Church consenting to it we will proced to

#### EXCOMMUNICATION.

Forasmuch as yow, M<sup>rs</sup> Huchison, have highly transgressed & offended, & forasmuch as yow have soe many ways *troubled the Church wth yo<sup>r</sup> Errors* & have drawn away many a poor soule, & have *upheld yo<sup>r</sup> Revelations*: & forasmuch as *yow have made a Lye, &c.* Therfor in the name of our Lord Je: Ch: & in the name of the Church I doe not only pronownce yow worthy to be cast owt, but *I doe cast yow out* & in the name of Ch. *I doe deliver you up to Sathan*, that yow may learne no more to blaspheme, to seduce & to lye, & I doe account yow from this time forth to be a Hethen & a Publican & soe to be held of

all the Bretheren & Sisters, of this Congregation, & of others: therfo' *I command yow* in the name of Ch: Je: & of this Church *as a Leper to withdraw yo' selfe owt of the Congregation*; that as formerly yow have dispised & contemned the Holy Ordinances of God, & turned yo' Backe one them, soe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them."

Sept. 3, 1771. I finished this Transcript from Original.

EZRA STILES.

Judge CHAMBERLAIN announced that the second volume of Judge Sewall's "Letter Book" had been printed, and was ready for delivery to members.

Mr. YOUNG communicated the following papers from the Hon. William D. Northend:—

SALEM, Aug. 3, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—In the letter of Samuel Sewall published in the Introduction of the first volume [Sewall Papers, vol. i. p. xiv], he speaks of the death of William Dummer, *son* of Jeremiah. It is a mistake, probably in the copying. The William Dummer referred to was *brother* of Jeremiah and *son* of Richard, the first.

Respectfully,

W. D. NORTHEND.

SALEM, Aug. 20, 1888.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, was so kind as to send me by his daughter the original letter of Samuel Sewall regarding his ancestry, etc.; and I compared it with the printed letter in Vol. I. of the Diary, and make the following corrections in the printed copy:

Introduction, page xii, 18th line, after "my father," read "and mother."

27th line, for "made," read "provided."

32d " after "my father's house," read "Septemb' 24."

39th " omit final "s" in "afterwards."

42d " after "remember," read "my."

On page xiv, 3d line, for "decree," read "Degree."

11th line, for "born in," read "born at."

3d line from bottom, after "Col. Townsend," read "Mr. Stoddard."

The statement on page xiv of the death of Mr. William Dummer was in a note on the margin, made with different ink, but, I think, in S. S.'s handwriting. Richard Dummer's first son, William, died at the age and time described. Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer, son of Jeremiah, was born in 1677, one year before the death of "Mr. William Dummer."

I also, by permission of Mr. Sewall's daughter, made a copy of a letter of Jeremiah Dummer of date 9th May, 1716. This letter is interesting

as giving an inside view of the circumstances attending the declination of Colonel Burgess,<sup>1</sup> and you may make such use of it as you desire.

Yours resp'ly,

REV. E. J. YOUNG.

W. D. NORTHEND.

P. S. You will notice on page xxii of the Introduction that Stephen Dummer and wife and family, except Jane, returned to England in 1647. I have seen it stated elsewhere that Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall returned to England soon after Stephen Dummer; but the letter makes it certain that they both returned with Stephen Dummer.

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DEAR S<sup>r</sup>, — If the Ships have gone safe to you of late, you must have a pretty many of my letters, some of them short & hasty, others more at large & deliberate. As for those affairs of New England which are already transacted & are now matters of fact, I'll refer you to the information of others. It shall be my task to write of what is to come, as far at least as I can pry into the dark subject of Futurity. Without any great skill in the occult Sciences, I may confidently tell you that your Lieut<sup>t</sup> Governour will be out, & that too notwithstanding Col. Burgess which causes the Loss, & I cant in the least doubt but my Countrey will be so Just as to repay it. Col. Shute would not think of advancing any money himselfe as it was not reasonable that Col. Burgess should Quit without being paid the Charges of his Commission, Equipage &c. In this case I could not doubt a minute what I was to do, yet for forms' sake I advisd with the friends of the Countrey, & they assured me it was my duty to do it, & that the Countrey would think it the best money that was ever laid out. New England does not know the unspeakable happyness they will Have by this Change, nor shall they ever know it from me, because if a certain Gentleman here does cut my throat (as he threatens) He shall have no pretence

<sup>1</sup> The incident here referred to is thus related by Palfrey in his History of New England, vol. iv. pp. 386, 387: "In the hot dispute which arose out of the financial question of the day in Massachusetts, Colonel Burgess was for some reason supposed to be inclined to what was called the *private bank* party, and his appointment was accordingly unwelcome to many of the most important persons in the Province. Their views, urged in England by one of the most active of them, Andrew Belcher of Cambridge, were also maintained by Jeremiah Dummer, the new agent, and by Sir William Ashurst, who, though he had refused the agency, never ceased to interest himself in the affairs of the Province. To Burgess the government of Massachusetts was nothing but a job; and for the considerations of a thousand pounds, furnished by Dummer and Belcher, he agreed to decline the promotion. The choice next fell upon Samuel Shute, also a colonel in the army, a brother of John Shute, afterward Lord Barrington in the peerage of Ireland. . . . Under the same influences, Lieutenant-Governor Tailer was superseded, and his place was given to William Dummer, son-in-law of Governor Dudley, a native of New England, but for some years resident in the parent country." — Eds.

for it. Otherwise I could tell you such things, which though the danger be over, yet etiam nunc meminisse horret animus. If your Secretry comes over (to whom the King's leave is gone by the last ships) pray tell me who is the fittest man for the Post among you, seeing you are resolved not to accept it yourself. I have paid my duty in a letter to Capt. Belcher, & pray you 'l please to renew it to him when you receive this. Please to accept some news

from your faithful & obed<sup>t</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

JER. DUMMER.

WHITEHALL, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1718.

MR. WHITE.

[Written on the second page of the letter.]

This page is left blank by mistake, & I must make my Postscript here to tell you that I was fond of having Cap<sup>t</sup> Belcher be the second man in his Countrey, but Mr. Belcher said his Father would not care for it.

Col. Wm. Dudley will be restored to his place.

Mr. S. F. MCCLEARY presented lists of the boys attending the North and South Writing Schools in 1755. These lists, he said, are interesting, as they exhibit the names of the families residing on the peninsula at that date, which precedes the publication of the first Directory of Boston by thirty-four years. Moreover, these boys of '55 became the men of '75; and among them are the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of some of the present inhabitants of Boston and vicinity.

The North Writing School was built on Love Lane in 1718, at the expense of Thomas and Edward Hutchinson, executors of the will of John Foster. The master in 1755 was Zechariah Hicks, the immediate predecessor of his famous usher John Tileston, in honor of whom the name of Love Lane was changed to Tileston Street. Master Hicks died in 1761, and was buried in the Copp's Hill ground. Abia Holbrook was the master of the South Writing School in 1755. The school-house stood on the portion of the Common which extended to what is now Mason Street, and it was built in 1718. On the rear it adjoined the premises of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company's gun-house. In 1768, when Governor Gage seized the provincial stores and disarmed the inhabitants of Boston, Adino Paddock, the commander of the artillery company, undertook to surrender to Gage the two brass

field-pieces which the company had received from London the year previous. But Nathaniel Langdon (whose name appears on the list of boys at the North Writing School in 1755), with others of the company, removed these guns to Master Holbrook's schoolhouse, where they were successfully concealed and were afterwards used in the Patriot army. Master Holbrook died in 1769, and was buried in the Granary ground.

The paper on which these scholars' names are written is much discolored by time; but the ink is as black as if it were put on yesterday, while the penmanship is remarkable for its elegance.

The consideration of the Report on the Revision of the By-Laws of the Society, which had been prepared by Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and Dr. Deane, was postponed until the next meeting.

Mr. LORD announced that he had written a memoir of the late Williams Latham, which he had been appointed to prepare.



Eng<sup>d</sup> by A.H. Ritchie

*William Latham*

MEMOIR  
OF  
WILLIAMS LATHAM, A.B.

BY ARTHUR LORD.

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WILLIAMS LATHAM was born in the town of East Bridgewater Nov. 4, 1803. His father was Galen Latham, a direct descendant from Robert Latham, the first of that numerous family of Latham well known in the history of the Old Colony. Robert Latham was a constable of the town of Marshfield during the first years of its settlement,—a man of importance and substance. He married Susannah Winslow, niece of Gov. Edward Winslow, and daughter of John Winslow and Mary Chilton, of “Mayflower” fame.

From Bridgewater Academy, where he was fitted for college, Williams Latham entered Brown University in 1823, and was graduated there in the Class of 1827. After graduation he became a student at law in the office of Zachariah Eddy,—then one of the most eminent lawyers in Southeastern Massachusetts, and of whose skill and learning traditions still linger in that section. He remained in Middleborough in Mr. Eddy’s office, pursuing his studies for three years; and in 1830, at the August term of the Court of Common Pleas at Plymouth, was admitted to the bar. Soon afterward he opened an office in the town of Bridgewater, and there lived, engaged in the practice of his profession, until his death, Nov. 6, 1883.

There was little of general interest in his long professional life, covering half a century. Public office had few attractions for him; and it was rarely that he laid aside the engrossing duties of his profession to take any part in political affairs. Without any of the special gifts which bring distinction as



an advocate, he mainly left the arguing of the important causes with which he was connected in his professional practice to his associates, and devoted himself to that careful, methodical, and exhaustive preparation of the causes intrusted to him which made his services of great value in the complicated and difficult questions arising in actions involving the title to real estate or the settlement of a pauper under the earlier law. Perhaps his largest practice was in equity and real estate, in regard to which his opinion was most widely sought. He was a laborious, painstaking, exact lawyer, loving the dry details of a real action, and revelling in the antiquated and involved proceedings in the equity causes of his time. His special fondness for antiquarian research and genealogical studies well fitted him for those departments of his profession in which he attained distinction. The implicit confidence in his honesty and integrity which was cherished by all who knew him brought to him a great deal of business in the settlement of estates and as a trustee. The people in his neighborhood intrusted him with their hard-earned savings for investment, and felt more secure with Williams Latham's receipt than with the deposit book of any savings-bank.

There was a native quaintness and bluntness in his speech, which rarely gave offence, and which had much attraction to those who knew him well. It was so direct, so sincere and honest, that it impressed every one with confidence in his sturdy qualities and honorable character. There was no member of the bar more generally respected, none who had a deeper hold on the confidence of the community. No one ever questioned his perfect integrity, or believed him capable of any meanness or wrong-doing. The life of a lawyer engaged in a busy office-practice in a country town is of necessity a quiet and uneventful one; but to a mind constituted as his it had its rich rewards in the esteem of his friends and neighbors, in the pleasure of his daily work, in the improvement of those opportunities for study and antiquarian research which that work brings.

Early in his professional life he began to make a collection of the early plans and maps of towns and woodlands, of grants and purchases in his county. Each title he examined brought an addition to his store, each case increased its volume, until at his death he had the largest and most valua-

ble collection of ancient plans which had ever been acquired in the county ; and its value to the examiner and lawyer cannot easily be overestimated. It was the work of fifty years, and in his will he especially devised it to the county of Plymouth to be forever kept in the Registry of Deeds, where it will long remain as a monument of painstaking industry, and as a help to every one whose business or interest may lead him to an examination of its antique contents.

While he had little taste for public life, he was by no means deficient in public spirit. The long lines of beautiful trees which adorn and shade the streets of Bridgewater, and which were set out largely by his own hands, will long bear witness to his interest in the improvement of the town which he had made his home. He served often as town auditor, and was for many years an officer of the Plymouth County Agricultural Society, interested in its welfare, and devoting himself to the promotion of its growth and prosperity.

But perhaps his special claim to our remembrance was as a zealous antiquarian and student in the genealogy and history of the Old Colony. With the possible exception of the late Ellis Ames, no one surpassed him in the extent of his curious information and familiarity with the minutest details of the early history of his native county. It amounted with him almost to a passion. No labor was too great, no time too valuable, if by its use he could determine some disputed point of local history or supply the missing link in the chain of title or descent. He had been also a diligent student of Indian history, and had given much attention to the meaning and origin of Indian names.

His membership in this Society began in the year 1859, and for nearly a quarter of a century he was a frequent attendant at our meetings. His contributions to the Proceedings were not numerous ; but his aid was frequently sought in the investigation of those subjects in which he was specially versed, and that aid was freely rendered. He was a member of the Publishing Committee in 1860, and was a frequent donor of books and pamphlets to the Library. His interest in the Society he evidenced by a bequest in his will, "for such purposes as said Society may determine," of one thousand dollars, "and also all my singing-books." These singing-books, as he termed them, were a large collection of ancient

music, which he had gathered during his long life, and are of value to every antiquarian and lover of music.

In 1882 he published at his own expense a complete list of all the epitaphs in the old graveyards in West Bridgewater and East Bridgewater, entitled "Epitaphs in Old Bridgewater, Massachusetts, by Williams Latham. Illustrated with Plans and Views. Bridgewater, Mass., 1882." This is a book of two hundred and fifty pages, and contains about twenty-five hundred epitaphs, with full plans of the ten old graveyards and a historical sketch of them. Each stone in the yards is located and numbered on the plan, and each epitaph carefully copied and indexed. The permanent preservation of the inscriptions and the identification of each grave in those ancient burial-places is thus assured to posterity by his patient and laborious efforts.

During the last years of his life he withdrew largely from the active practice of his profession, and devoted himself to the care of his property, and to the numerous trust estates whose management was committed to him. He died, after a short illness, on Nov. 6, 1883, leaving a widow, Lydia T. Latham, daughter of Abiezer Alger, of West Bridgewater, and no children.